

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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-----260749Z 123160 /21/40

O R 251748Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6835
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USMISSION USBERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 05338

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y TEXT PARA 5 LINE 13

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR CSCE GW UR
SUBJECT: MY MEETING WITH GENSCHER, MARCH 24

BEGIN SUMMARY: PREFACING A WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION MARCH 24
OF A NUMBER OF SUBJECTS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER FIRST EXPRESSED
GREAT SATISFACTION WITH HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON.
WE REVIEWED SUBJECTS WHICH ARE EXPECTED TO COME UP
DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW AND GENSCHER OUT-
LINED TO ME GRMAN THINKING ON CSCE, INCLUDING BREZHNEV'S
PROPOSALS FOR MEETINGS ON ENERGY, TRANSPORT AND ENVIRONMENT,
AND THE GERMAN INTEREST IN INTRODUCING NORTH-SOUTH QUESTIONS
AT BELGRADE. GENSCHER NOTED THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD
RECENTLY GIVEN HIM A PAPER ON BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS. HE
SAID THAT VAN WELL, DURING HIS CURRENT VISIT TO MOSCOW,
WOULD TRY TO ARRANGE A MEETING BETWEEN GENSCHER AND
GROMYKO TO PREPARE FOR A VISIT BY BREZHNEV TO BONN
NEXT FALL. GENSCHER DISCUSSED BRIEFLY HIS RECENT
VISIT TO ISRAEL, COMMENTING THAT HE HAD ALLON
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MORE REALISTIC THAN RABIN. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING MY MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER
ON MARCH 24 OUR DISCUSSION COVERED NON-PROLIFERATION,
AID TO PORTUGAL, CUBA (ALL REPORTED SEPTELS), GENSCHER'S
VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW,
CSCE AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN GENERAL.

2. GENSCHER'S WASHINGTON VISIT: GENSCHER ASKED ME TO CONVEY TO THE SECRETARY HIS GREAT SATISFACTION WITH HIS WASHINGTON VISIT. HE APPRECIATED FROM BOTH A PERSONAL AND OFFICIAL VIEW THE CONVERSATIONS HE HAD WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY. FOLLOWING THESE MEETINGS, HE HAD TAKEN A POSITIVE TONE IN REMARKS TO THE PRESS AND BELIEVES IT IS IMPORTANT THAT BOTH GERMAN AND MAERICAN LEADERS DO THE SAME. HE ALSO BELIEVES THAT BOTH COUNTRIES SHOULD TRY TO COUNTERACT ANY IMPRESSION THAT OUR CURRENT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION HAVE ARISEN OVERNIGHT OR THAT THERE IS A QUARREL BETWEEN THE GERMAN AND MAERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS. I SAID WE FULLY AGREED AND THAT THE SECRETARY'S COMMENTS HAD BEEN POSITIVE FOLLOWING THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT.

3. THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW: IN RESPONSE TO GENSCHER'S QUESTIONS AS TO WHAT SUBJECTS WOULD BE DISCUSSED, I MENTIONED SALT, MBFR (WHERE OUR POSITION WOULD REFLECT ALLIANCE VIEWS), BERLIN, THE MIDDLE EAST AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

4. BREZHNEV VISIT TO US: GENSCHER ASKED WHEN BREZHNEV COULD BE EXPECTED TO COME TO THE US. I SAID IT WAS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT NO TIME HAD BEEN FIXED; IN GENERAL, I FELT THAT A VISIT WOULD BE LINKED TO THE OUTCOME OF THE SALT DISCUSSIONS.

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5. MIDDLE EAST: GENSCHER SAID THAT SOVIET AMBASSADOR FALIN HAD RAISED THE MIDDLE EAST WITH HIM IN A RECENT MEETING, BUT HAD SAID NOTHING NEW. GENSCHER THEN BRIEFED ME ON HIS TALKS DURING HIS VISIT TO ISRAEL MARCH 16-18. HE SAID THAT THE ISRAELI LEADERS HAD SHOWN A DEEP INTEREST IN THE RECENT STATEMENTS OF BOTH U.S. AND SOVIET LEADERS. GENSCHER TOLD RABIN AND ALLON THAT EUROPE'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS ONE OF SUPPORT FOR U.S. MOVES. HE ALSO TRIED TO CONVINCE THE ISRAELI LEADERS THAT THE MODERATE ARABS (SYRIA, EGYPT, JORDAN, AND SAUDI ARABIA) WANT PROGRESS TOWARD A PEACE SETTLEMENT NOW AND THAT IT IS IN ISRAEL'S INTEREST NOT TO DISAPPOINT THEM. ALLON HAD RESPONDED WITH A MORE REALISTIC POSITION THAN HAD RABIN, WHO IS CLEARLY FEELING THE PRESSURE OF AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

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6. CSCE: FALIN HAD RECENTLY GIVEN GENSCHER A PAPER ON THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS FOR MEETINGS ON ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT AND TRANSPORT. HE TOLD GENSCHER THAT THE SAME PAPER WAS BEING PRESENTED IN WASHINGTON. GENSCHER BELIEVES THAT THE USSR IS WORRIED ABOUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION AT BELGRADE, AND, THEREFORE, IS STRESSING THE PROPOSALS IN AN EFFORT TO DIVERT ATTENTION FROM HUMAN RIGHTS. I SAID WE BELIEVED THAT THE ECE IS THE BEST FORUM FOR STUDYING THE BREZHNEV PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, OF THE THREE PROPOSALS, THE ONE OF ENVIRONMENT WOULD PROBABLY BE THE LEAST TROUBLESOME IF SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE OUTSIDE THE ECE. GENSCHER SAID THAT FALIN HAD CLAIMED THAT, WHILE THE ECE COULD PERFORM A USEFUL PREPARATORY ROLE, THE PROPOSALS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN THE CSCE FRAMEWORK. GENSCHER HAD REPLIED THAT I WOULD BE BETTER TO LEAVE THE PROPOSALS IN THE ECE AND HAD ASKED FALIN IF THE USSR IS COMMITTED TO PUSH THE THREE PROPOSALS IN CSCE.

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FALIN HAD REPLIED THAT THIS IS AN OPEN QUESTION.

7. GENSCHER SAID HE DETECTED SOME "GIVE" IN FALIN'S PRESENTATION AND HAD RECEIVED THE IMPRESSION THAT BREZHNEV WOULD BE HAPPY IF ONE PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTED AS A CSCE PROJECT. FALIN HAD SAID THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARY THAT ALL THREE PROPOSALS GO FORWARD AT THE SAME TIME, BUT THAT ALL THREE COULD NOT BE REJECTED BY THE WEST FOR PRESTIGE REASONS. IF THE WEST COULD AGREE TO ONE PROPOSAL, THE USSR COULD THEN BE FLEXIBLE AS TO PROCEDURE. FALIN HAD CHARACTERIZED HIS REMARKS AS HIS PERSONAL VIEWS, BUT GENSCHER BELIEVES THAT THEY UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECT THE OFFICIAL SOVIET LINE.

8. GENSCHER THINKS THE WEST SHOULD INTRODUCE THE NORTH-SOUTH QUESTION IN CSCE IN ORDER TO TRY TO DEMONSTRATE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE COMMUNIST STATES TO CONTRIBUTE TOWARD THE SOLUTION OF NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN THE POSITION THAT DEVELOPMENT AID IS COMPENSATION FOR THE DAMAGES SUFFERED UNDER COLONIALISM, WHILE, IN FACT, THE USSR HAS THE ONLY COLONIAL EMPIRE LEFT IN THE WORLD TODAY. THE USSR CONTINUALLY VOICES SUPPORT FOR THE THIRD WORLD, DOES NOT AID IT, AND ONLY SELLS IT ARMS. THIS SITUATION COULD NOT CONTINUE. THE USSR POSES AS THE HELPER OF THE THIRD WORLD, BUT PAYS NOTHING. I OBSERVED THAT THE SOVIETS ACTUALLY HAVE LITTLE TO OFFER.

9. EAST-WEST RELATIONS: GENSCHER NOTED THE GREAT INTEREST ON THE PART OF THE FRG IN THE ATTEMPT OF PRESIDENT CARTER TO TAKE THE WEST OFF THE DEFENSIVE AND TO REGAIN THE INITIATIVE IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS--AN ATTEMPT WHICH THE FRG SUPPORTS.

10. VAN WELT VISIT TO MOSCOW: GENSCHER SAID HE BELIEVES THAT THE SOVIETS ARE STRIVING FOR GOOD
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ATMOSPHERICS WHILE CEDING NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE. IN REPLY TO MY QUESTION, GENSCHER ASSERTED THAT THERE IS NO DATE SET FOR THE BREZHNEV VISIT TO BONN. THE FRG HAD PLANNED THAT THE VISIT WOULD TAKE PLACE FOLLOWING A VISIT BY BREZHNEV TO THE U.S., BUT, IF THAT VISIT IS DELAYED INDEFINITELY BECAUSE OF SLAT, IT WOULD NOT MAKE SENSE TO KEEP POSTPONING THE VISIT TO BONN. VAN WELT WILL TRY TO ARRANGE A GENSCHER/GROMYKO MEETING, DURING WHICH IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO SET A DATE FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT. GENSCHER BELIEVES THAT THE VISIT SHOULD NOT BE TIED TO ANY SPECIFIC AGREEMENT, BUT, RATHER THAT THE VISIT SHOULD BE SEEN AS IMPORTANT AND WORTHWHILE IN ITSELF. THE FRG EXPECT LITTLE CONCRETE TO COME

OUT OF THE VISIT, HE SAID, BUT BELIEVES THAT IT
COULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE A MEETING AT THE HIGHEST
LEVEL. (COMMENT: GENSCHER'S REMARKS SEEM SOMEWHAT
MORE UPBEAT ON THE BREZHNEV VISIT THAN WE HAVE
HEARD FROM HIM IN THE PAST.) STOESSEL

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